

On the Crossroad: The Hellenistic Kingdom of Cappadocia: A Brief History as Seen Through Its Royal Coinage

Synopsis: Cappadocia was created as a Persian satrapy by the Achaemenids during their conquest of Anatolia. Cappadocia's sparsely populated lands were purposely populated by Iranian peoples between the mid sixth century BC and Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia in the mid fourth century BC to provide a buffer between the Persian heartland and the Greek city-states bordering the Aegean Sea. Cappadocia became a crossroad between the Persian world of the East and the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean. Both influences would be seen in Cappadocia's coinage once the satrapy became a kingdom in its own right soon after Alexander's death in 323 BC. Cappadocia's history was turbulent, and its coins are interesting, some being remarkably beautiful.

Historical and Geographical Notes

The history of the Kingdom of Cappadocia can be divided into two periods: the Persian and the Royal periods. Before the arrival of the Persians in the sixth century BC during the period of history known as the Bronze Age, the area that became Cappadocia corresponds exactly with the area of the Hittite Empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries BC. All that seems to have passed down from that age is possibly the name of the region within Cappadocia known as Comana called *Kummanni* by the Hittites.

Cappadocia's boundaries varied widely throughout the period of its existence relative with vagaries of the kingdom's fortunes under the various kings. It originally consisted of 10 prefectures for much of the main period of the kingdom in the second and first centuries BC. Later, towards the Roman annexation of the country as a province, the Romans added Cilicia as an eleventh prefecture.

Cappadocia contained only a handful of important cities, the three most important were Gazura, Tyana (the capital) and Comana. There are references to other cities of some note that played lesser roles, such as Ariaratheia (later to be renamed Caesarea by the Romans) and Mazaca, which name was later changed to Eusebia of the Taurus that for a time served as a second capital after Tyana. All of these cities served as mint cities for Cappadocia.

Maps



Fig.1: Map of Ancient Anatolia



Fig. 2: Ancient Cappadocia ca. 50 BC.

The kingdom of Cappadocia was founded by the Persians originally as a *satrapy* (province), ruled in the Persian kings' names by satraps, usually relatives of the king, who, in return, enjoyed a great deal of autonomy so long as they maintained the peace and duly provided tribute (360 talents of silver per a year~ 57 lbs per talent from Cappadocia) for the king. Otherwise, the satraps were virtually kings in their own right, subordinate only to the 'Great King', who superseded them.

Before Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire started in 336 BC, a number of different satraps ruled Cappadocia and except for Datames, who rebelled from Persia in around 362 BC, none seem to have minted any coins in Cappadocia. As for Datames, he minted some coins in Sinope, but at the time, Sinope was not part of Cappadocia, so strictly speaking, his coins are not Cappadocian.

Cappadocia's initial coinage was therefore produced by its first king, Ariarathes I, who was also its last satrap.

Ariarathes I *404-322 BC*

Ariarathes I was the satrap of Cappadocia under the Achaemenid Empire from 350 BC to 331 BC, and the King of Cappadocia from 331 BC until his death in 322 BC. He was noted for his love of his brother, Holophernes (also called Orophernes), whom he sent to assist King Artaxerxes III in the recovery of Egypt in 350 BC. When his brother perished, Ariarathes adopted Holophernes only son and renamed the boy, Ariarathes, after himself, and at the same time made him his heir.

In 333 BC, Alexander invaded Cappadocia, driving Ariarathes from his country. In his place, Alexander appointed a native Persian, Sabiktas to rule Cappadocia. Nevertheless, by 323 BC Ariarathes I had returned and managed to resume his reign over Cappadocia as its king. He even expanded his kingdom by subduing the region of Cataonia on the southern coast of the Black Sea, which included the city of Sinope.

In 323 BC, Perdikkas, the regent for Macedonia, appointed a Macedonian, Eumenes, as the governor of Cappadocia.. When Ariarathes I refused to submit, Perdikkas invaded Cappadocia. Ariarathes was quickly defeated, taken prisoner and crucified along with many of his relations. His adopted son and heir however, managed to escape to Armenia as Eumenes resumed his reign as satrap of Cappadocia. *Fig. 3&4*

Ariarathes II *301-280? BC*

Ariarathes II was the son of Holophernes, renamed Ariarathes by Ariarathes I, making him the stepson of Ariarathes I. When Eumenes invaded at Perdikkas' command, Ariarathes fled to Armenia and only returned after Eumenes death in 301 BC and became king with the assistance of Ardoates, the Armenian king and the acceptance of Seleukid suzerainty, because of Seleukos I's help in the coup. Ariarathes II became king the same year. Nothing else has survived about the rest of his reign. *Fig.5*

Ariaramnes
280?-230? BC

Ariaramnes was the eldest of Ariarathes II's three sons. He freed Cappadocia from Seleukid dominance, which had cast a shadow over the kingdom under his father. The new prominence for Cappadocia could be seen by the fact that Antiochos II, the king of the Seleukid Kingdom, married his daughter to Ariaramnes son, the future Ariarathes III, thus a being a formal acknowledgement of Cappadocia's independence.

Ariaramnes, despite his Persian name, was an ardent admirer of Greek culture. Under him, Greek was supplanted Aramaic as the official language of the kingdom. It became the official language of the royal court and the official written language for documents and importantly, for the numismatic world, for use on Cappadocia's coinage.

Not much else about Ariaramnes or his reign has come down to us, except because of his coins, we know that he was a great admirer of horses. *Fig.6*

Ariarathes III
230?-220 BC

Ariaramnes, wisely took his son, the future Ariarathes III as co-monarch. Thus, at Ariaramnes' death in 220 BC, Ariarathes III was the first of Cappadocia's kings to ascend to the throne peacefully. With Stratonike, Antiochos II's daughter, as his wife, peace with the Seleukids was assured.

Sometime during Ariarathes III's reign, he annexed Comana in Cataonia, (Not to be confused with a city of the same name in the neighboring kingdom of Pontus) where there was an important temple dedicated to the Cappadocian patron deity Mâ; a warrior goddess, considered by the Greeks to be the equivalent of Athena, and it was her image that was depicted on Ariarathes III's tetradrachms and some of his bronze coinage for the first time. As with the previous Cappadocian monarchs, little else has survived of his history. *Figs. 7&8*

Ariarathes IV Eusebes
220-163 BC

Ariarathes IV was the first of Cappadocia's kings to become involved directly in outside affairs. In 192 BC, he allied himself with Antiochos III and took the latter's daughter, Antiochis, as his second wife.

This new alliance brought the Kingdom of Cappadocia in direct conflict with Rome, for Antiochos III had allied himself with the Macedonian king, Perseus, a sworn enemy of Rome. Ariarathes subsequently participated with the Seleukid king in various campaigns, on the narrow path to the disastrous defeat at the Battle of Magnesia in 189 BC. Ariarathes IV, after the debacle, managed to ingratiate himself with the victors and retain his kingdom by changing sides, but still had to pay a huge indemnity to the Romans and Eumenes II to the amount of 600 talents or 3,600,000 drachms.

Between his political aspirations and military endeavors, Ariarathes IV's frequent

absences interfered with providing him an heir. From his first wife, he had only a daughter, Stratonice, and as his second marriage failed to produce an heir for a great length of time, in desperation, Antiochis, during one of his frequent absences, secretly adopted a pair of twins and named them Ariarathes and Orophernes. Quite a while later, however, she did become pregnant and bore her husband a son, whom she named Mithridates, and two daughters. Faced with a dilemma, Antiochis confessed her chicanery and the changelings were quietly exiled. One was sent to Rome while the other was sent to Ionia. Mithridates became the legitimate heir. His name was then changed to Ariarathes after his father, and all seemed well. *Figs.9-13*

Ariarathes V Eusebes
First Reign 163-161 BC

History is silent about the particulars of Ariarathes IV's death. What is known, is that early in his reign, Ariarathes V Eusebes refused to marry two prominent royal ladies, first Laodike, the widow of the former Macedonian king, Perseus, then Demetrios Soter the Syrian king's sister. Demetrios was outraged and learning of Orophernes the changeling he supplanted him on the throne in Ariarathes' stead, forcing the true monarch to flee to Rome in 161 BC.

Orophenes Nikephoros
161-ca.159 BC

The usurpation of the throne of Cappadocia by Orophernes was engineered by Demetrios Soter, who may have met the exile in Rome at the same time as his own exile. One may even wonder if the two fled their Roman captivity on the same boat!

With Ariarathes V safely out of his grasp, Orophernes vented his anger on the citizens of Cappadocia through extortion and cruelty. He was soon well hated by his subjects and with Ariarathes V's arrival back in Cappadocia along with funds and an army provided by Attalos I of Pergamon in 159 BC, Orophernes was quickly driven out of the country. He did manage to take with him 400 talents in silver he gave to the city of Priene for safe keeping before leaving for Syria, possibly in hope of returning some day to repossess the fortune for himself. *Fig. 18*

Ariarathes V Epiphanes
Second Reign 159-130 BC

When Ariarathes V arrived outside of Priene shortly after Orophernes' rapid departure from Priene, he demanded the return of the 400 talents. Priene refused to give it up. The refusal angered the young king, with Attalos' help, Priene was sacked and the 400 talents were then brought back to Cappadocia.

Under Ariarathes V, Cappadocia would reach its greatest level of prosperity. The twin capitals of the kingdom, Mazaca and Tyana were renamed Euebia of Mount Argaeos and Eusebeia of Mount Taurus respectively.

In 130 BC, Ariarathes' 33rd year as king, he received a call for help from Attalos III of Pergamon. A usurper, Aristonikos, who claimed to be the illegitimate son of

Eumenes II, had raised an army and was threatening to take Pergamon.

Ariarathes V, put his 400 talents to quick use, using much of it to pay for Roman reinforcements and rushed on toward Pergamon, to forestall Arisonikos. His army, while still in the mountains outside of Pergamon, was ambushed by Aristonikos' partisans and were destroyed. Ariarathes perished with his men. *Figs.14-17*

Ariarathes V left five sons, but none were old enough to reign in their own right, so their grandmother Nysa (some sources say it was their mother) was to serve as their regent until the eldest could reach an age of majority. Unfortunately for four of these boys, their grandmother had no intention of allowing that to happen.

One day, the royal servants rushed from the palace in panic. They screamed that the queen mother had gone mad and was murdering the princes one at a time. This alarm was enough to send the local populace racing to the palace to save as many of the endangered heirs as they could. When the mob finally broke into the palace, they found Nysa in blood-soaked clothing chasing down the last of the boys. The mob went wild and tore the murderess to pieces over the atrocity she had committed.

Ariarathes VI Eusebes Philopater
130-116 BC

Ariarathes V left five sons, but none were old enough to reign in their own right, so their mother Nysa was to serve as their regent until the eldest could reach an age of majority. Unfortunately for four of these boys, Nysa had no intention of allowing that to happen.

One day, the royal servants rushed from the palace in panic. They screamed that the queen mother had gone mad and was trying to murder the last of the late king's sons, Ariarathes VI Eusebes. This alarm was enough to send the local populace racing to the palace to save the heir if they could. When the mob finally broke into the palace, they found Nysa chasing down the last of the boys. The mob went wild and tore the murderess to pieces over the atrocity she had committed.

Ariarathes VI Eusebes was the only son of Ariarathes V to survive Nysa's murderous spree. Still too young to reign in his own right, his stepmother was allowed to serve as his regent until he reached adulthood. He was murdered soon after at Mithradates VI's behest by Gordios, an agent of Mithradates, leaving an infant son as his heir. *Fig.19*

Ariarathes VII Epiphanes
116-101 BC

The above mentioned unrest in the kingdom served as a pretext for neighboring states to intervene in the affairs of Cappadocia. First, the young Ariarathes VII, when he was now old enough to rule on his own was forcefully betrothed to Mithradates' daughter, Laodike of Cappadocia, who was also Ariarathes' maternal first cousin. Soon after, Nikomedes III of Bithynia invaded and forced an unwanted marriage onto Ariarathes' mother. Nikomedes III hoped to tip the regional balance in his favor against Pontos thus limiting Mithradates VI's own ambitions and gaining territory as well. Both Rome and Mithradates quickly condemned Nikomedes' actions. Mithradates intervened militarily as the Romans looked the other way and Nikomedes III was sent scurrying back to Bithynia, his tail between his legs. Ariarathes VI was released and once again allowed to take his rightful place as king.

Ariarathes was not a quiet client to Mithradates' meddling into Cappadocian affairs, however, especially when he was forced to accept the presence of Gordios, his father's assassin, within the royal palace. Eventually, Mithradates grew tired of Ariarathes' resistance and moved to invade. At the frontier, under a flag of truce, the two kings met in the space between the assembled armies. While still in apparent negotiation, Mithradates suddenly pulled a dagger and murdered his son-in-law with his own hand, setting up his own son to be the king of Cappadocia. *Fig. 20*

Ariarathes VIII Epiphanes
100?BC

It did not take long for the Cappadocian people to rebel against the Pontic invaders in an attempt to have their exiled king, Ariarathes VIII back, hoping to expel Mithradates VI and his usurper son, newly re-named Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopater. In ~100 BC, Ariarathes VIII attempted a coup of his own, using Syrian mercenaries and money. The attempt was crushed almost as soon as it started and the last of the true line of Ariarathes I line was gone. *Figs 21-23*

Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopater
101-87 BC

Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopater was the son of Mithradates VI Eupator, and thus was not part of the Ariarathian dynasty. He was not even Cappadocian. In fact, his real name was not even Ariarathes. It was given him as part of Mithradates' facade to make it seem that Ariarathes IX's reign was legitimate.

Ariarathes IX was eight years old at the time of the Pontic invasion, so had played only a minor role in his father's intrigues before the invasion of Cappadocia. As he got older, he became more involved and when Nikomedes IV of Bithynia, reenforced with two Roman legions attacked Pontos, Ariarathes was a full partner with his father.

Mithradates when they ambushed the allied invaders and crushed them completely. The two Roman legions destroyed in Pontos comprised the whole of Roman military might in region at the time, so there was literally nothing north of Syria to stop the Pontic armies from sweeping through all of Anatolia and into much of Greece as well.

The mainly Greek client states to Rome within Asia Minor responded in their usual manner: they celebrated. This jubilation proved to Mithradates that he would face little opposition from these erstwhile kingdoms. In 88 BC, he unleashed the second prong of attack on Rome.

This action, nicknamed *The Asiatic Vespers* by modern scholars, was a long laid out plan of Mithradates wherein he had secretly embedded large numbers of agents throughout Roman-occupied areas of Anatolia, Phoenicia and Asia. In 88 BC, at a prearranged time, all the agents struck simultaneously, massacring every Roman that could be found. It is believed that over 80,000 Roman citizens died on the first night alone. With all organized Roman resistance wiped out, Mithradates' and Ariarathes IX's armies swept unopposed through Anatolia and into Greece.

It was Ariarathes who led the invasion of mainland Greece, the farthest afield any Cappadocian king would ever reach. With the exception of Macedonia, virtually every

Greek city-state threw open their gates to welcome the invading armies. One can imagine the emotions that the 13 year old conqueror felt as he and his men marched on flower-bedecked streets, greeted by the cheers of the excited crowds. It must have seemed that he was invincible. Within a year he was dead: stricken by disease.

With this death, Mithradates' fortunes died as well. From that time on, everything went the Romans' way. By 84 BC, Mithradates had been pushed back into Pontos again. *Figs. 24-25*

Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos
96-63 BC

When Ariarathes VIII died in ~100BC, there were two claimants to the throne of Cappadocia: Ariarathes IX, Mithradates son and a previously unknown claimant, supported by Nikomedes III, who supposedly was Ariarathes VI's third son. The people of Cappadocia turned to the Roman Senate as the arbitrator. The Senate rejected both men and declared that Cappadocia should become a republic. Perhaps, in viewing Rome's record of instability as a republic, the Cappadocians were leery. Again they demanded a king to rule the country. This time the people set forth two other candidates: Gordios, the murderer of Ariarathes VI and VII and a known agent of Mithradates and Ariobarzanes, a Cappadocian aristocrat.

Though Ariobarzanes was totally inept for the crown, the senate chose him for obvious reasons. One later historian made this observation: "Ariobarzanes spent his life being driven off the throne and then being restored again."

Ariobarzanes was overthrown first by Tigranes of Armenia and Gordios in 93 BC, then restored by Sulla in 92 BC, driven out again that same year, and restored again in 91 BC. Mithradates forced him into exile between 90-89, but Curio restored him in 81

BC. Mithradates deposed him in 74 BC, and Lucullus put him back yet again, only for Mithradates and Tigranes to kick him out once more in 67 BC. Pompey once again restored Ariobarzanes in 66 BC. by 63 BC, Ariobarzanes had had enough. This time it was his choice to abdicate in favor of his son Ariobarzanes II. *Figs 26-27*

Ariobarzanes II Philopater Philoromaioi
63-52 BC

Ariobarzanes II reluctantly became king in 63 BC. Valerius Maximus describes the scene thus: “Ariobarzanes abdicated the throne in the presence of Cn. Pompey. He [Ariobarzanes] was present at an audience with that general, and at his invitation mounted the tribunal and seated himself upon a curule chair. But perceiving his own son near the balustrade, in a corner of the tribunal—a place unworthy of his rank—he could not bear to see him thus standing below himself. At once he descended, placed the diadem upon his brow, and urged him to occupy the seat which he had just left. The eyes of the young prince filled with tears, he trembled all over, let fall the diadem and had not the strength to take one step toward the place pointed out to him. What a most incredible sight, to behold what joy the one deposed the diadem and with what sadness the other received it! This generous strife might have had no end, had not the authority of Pompey intervened in favor of the paternal wish. He gave the son the title of king, had him accept the diadem and forced him upon the curule chair.” (*Newell, Edward T., Royal Greek Portrait Coins, p.54, Whitman Publishing Co. Racine WI. 1937.*) Ariobarzanes II's reluctance must have been a premonition of things to come, The Romans could prove to be truly harsh allies.

Little else has come to us regarding the reign of Ariobarzanes II, the reluctant king. *Fig.28*

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philoromaioi
52-42 BC

In 52 BC, Ariobarzanes III, Ariobarzanes II's eldest son received the diadem. Due to the Mithradatic symbol on the reverses of his drachms, a star and crescent moon emblem, we can see that Ariobarzanes II was the husband of the daughter of Mithradates' youngest daughter, thus she was the mother of both Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X. It was possibly due to this royal mother's intrigue and interference that Cassius (Julius Caesar's assassin) had Ariobarzanes executed. Or it could have been as a foil to Octavian's and Mark Antony's plans for the region, for the same year, 42 BC, Cassius would find defeat at Philippi and with it his own death by suicide. *Fig. 29-30*

Ariarathes X Eusebius Philadelphus
42-36 BC

Ariarathes X was the last Cappadocian king to have the name of the first king. He was also the last of the Ariobarzanid line. He was made king of Cappadocia by Marc Antony soon after the battle of Philippi. Not much else is known of Ariarathes' reign, but in 36 BC, Antony returned, now at war with Octavian. There was a falling out between the two men, probably over whom Ariarathes and Cappadocia would support in the current civil war. Obviously, Ariarathes angered the Roman general in some manner and thus was slain. Whether by execution or assassination, it hardly mattered. The direct line to the throne was now broken. *Figs. 31-32*

Archelaus Philopatrides ton Ktistes
36 BC-17 AD

Before leaving Cappadocia on his way to war against the Parthians, which he would eventually lose, Antony chose Archelaus as Ariarathes X's replacement, Archelaus was the last king of Cappadocia. He was the great grandson of Archelaus, a general under Mithradates VI in the first and third Mithradatic wars. Archelaus was also the grandson and son of two generations of high priests of the renowned sanctuary of the Mother Goddess Ma, at Comana.

Even though Archelaus supported Antony to the end of the civil war between Antony and Octavian, he was forgiven by Augustus in a general amnesty and so retained his title as king.

Archelaus was so unpopular with the Cappadocian populace they filed a suit against him in Rome. Archelaus came to trial, he was even defended by Tiberius, Even though he was found innocent, Archelaus never returned to Cappadocia. He was an aged man and Roman comforts were appealing. He died in Rome in 17 AD. After Archelaus' death, Rome made Cappadocia a Roman province. *Fig. 33.*

Thus came to an end the long line of Cappadocian kings and with them a long series of fascinating coins spanning over more than three centuries, bearing the lifelike portraits of three dynasties of kings and comprising fifteen monarchs who had played a significant role in the affairs of Asia Minor.

Coinage of the Kingdom of Cappadocia 333 BC to 15 AD

Ariarathes I

Fig. 3. AR Drachm



Gaziura mint

Fig. 4. AR Drachm



Sinope mint
CNG 99, Lot: 316 *

Ariarathes II

Fig. 5 Ae13



Ariaramnes

Fig. 6. Ae17



CNG 248, Lot: 184.

Ariarathes III

Fig. 7 Ae15



i
Fig. 8 Ae17



Ariarathes IV Eusebes

Fig. 9 Ae15



Fig.10 Ar Drachm



Roma Numismatics Limited, Auction 8, Lot 664

Fig. 11 Ar Drachm



Fig. 12 AR Drachm



Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 102, Lot 284

Fig.13 Ar Tetradrachm



Numismatica Genevensis SA, Auction 9, Lot 67

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Ariarathes V Eusebes

Fig.14 Ar Drachm



Fig. 15 Ar Drachm



Image: Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles,

Fig.16 Ar Drachm



Leipziger Münzhandlung und Auktion Heidrun Höhn, Auction 81, Lot 1366

Fig.17 Ar Tetradrachm



Image: Gemini, LLC

Fig. 18 Ar Tetradrachm



Image: Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG

Ariarathes VI Epiphanes

Fig. 19 Ar Drachm



Ariarathes VII Epiphanes Philopater

Fig.20 Ar Drachm



Fig. 21 Ar Tetradrachm



Fig. 22 Ar Tetradrachm



Image: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

Fig.23 Ar Tetradrachm



Image: Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG

Fig. 24 Ar Drachm



Ex- John Quincy Adams Collection

Fig. 25 Ar Drachm



Ariobarzanes I Philoromoi

Fig. 26 Ar Drachm



Fig. 27 Ar Drachm



Ariobarzanes II Philopater

Fig. 28 Ar Drachm



Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philoromaïos

Fig. 29 Ar Drachm



Fig. 30 Ar Drachm



Fig. 31 Ar Drachm



Fig. 32 Ar Drachm



Archelaus Philopatris ton Ktistes

Fig. 33



The End

* Those photos not in author's collection are noted by the firm that last sold the coin shown, all other coins are from the author's personal collection, and were photographed by him.

When I volunteered to accept this opportunity to make a presentation to CONA, I thought that it would be the proverbial “walk-in-the-park”. It was not. In my previously presented programs, there was literally a plethora of references to peruse as I prepared Lysimachos' coins are avidly collected and well researched. The same implies with the Seleukid Kingdom. With the Baktrians, though the history is sparse, there is a real cornucopia of coins and many an eager researcher seeking to open the veil of its historical silence. Archaeologists work with numismatists seeking every scrap of enlightenment. It is an exciting time to be part of the discussion and research. Yes, there are disagreements, but that is an expected part of the work. It spurs on the search for answers.

Lowly Cappadocia, on the other hand, has been set on the back burner. Research in that part of Turkey is dominated by Hittite and Achaemenid studies. Hellenistic Cappadocian levels are just seen as overburden to get through to get to the 'neat stuff' beneath. Most scholarship on Cappadocian coins are over fifty years old and primarily consist of the works of two scholars: Bono Simonetta and Otto Mørkholm.

It must be said that a disagreement over the attribution of whether the silver coinage attributed by Simonetta to Ariarathes IV were actually minted only by Ariarathes V as proposed by Mørkholm . What should have been a scholarly debate turned into rancor and the two became bitter enemies.

This is where I get to stick my neck into the noose. My proposal is that neither Simonetta or Mørkholm are entirely correct nor entirely wrong. Both kings issued silver coins. The tetradrachms and drachms whose portrait display diadems with flying ends are markedly different from the rest of the issues. These can be divided into three distinct issues: MI, HK and ΘK in the exergue. The final two are dates, 28 and 29 respectively.

The issue with MI, however, is an enigma, for a date of MI is impossible. It would be like us writing the number 50 as 40+10, an absurdity. The Greeks would have written it as N. It is this, along with the flying diadem that compelled Simonetta to reject that series as well made counterfeits (at the time he had not encountered the series with HK and ΘK regnal dates). Today the MI series is accepted as genuine. So, how then do we explain the MI if it is not a date?

Earlier in this monograph, there is mention of the Cappadocian goddess named Mâ, who was equated with Athena by the Greeks. Might this not be an attempt by the engraver of the drachm's reverse die to name the goddess represented there? It is my belief that this is the exact reason for this inscription. To English speakers, there may be a question, if this is so, why then was **I** used as the final letter instead of **A**? In our modern transcription of the Aramaic, **â** would sound more like an English **e**, a sound of

la

which the nearest Greek equivalent would be **I**, hence the **MI** on the coin.

Another point of contention between Mørkholm and Simonetta was the vast issue

of drachms with the ΓΛ (33) date, the single largest issue of Cappadocian coinage. Simonetta's explanation was this was the issue that Ariarathes IV struck to pay the indemnity to Rome and Pergamon following the loss at the Battle of Magnesia which occurred 188 BC, during Ariarathes IV's thirty-third year as monarch.

Why was this paid with coinage rather than in bullion? Simonetta gave this rational explanation : . . . *there was . . . a clear advantage to Ariarathes in adopting this method of payment [minted coinage]; these drachms are very often a little less in weight than they should be. Multiplying this small difference in weight by hundreds of thousands of examples, the saving becomes considerable.*-- Simonetta, Bono, *The Coins of the Cappadocian Kings*. TYPOS vol. II Fribourg Switzerland. 1977 p.22.

The explanation is rational, but it is not proof that the coinage belongs to Ariarathes IV. Ariarathes V too had a similar great event in *his* 33rd year that would require a similar grand production of coinage: the Aristonikos rebellion. Ariarathes V needed to provide pay for a large army of not only Cappadocians, but also for several Roman legions, and Syrian mercenaries. So might not this be a more reasonable reason for the commonality of drachms dated the year 33? Or might these drachms be an amalgam of both kings, both of which were named Ariarathes Eusebes? After all, there are two distinct portraits for these Drachms: those with a childlike portrait and those of an adult man.

In my opinion, all these enigmatic coins belong to Ariarathes V, at least those depicting the adult portrait. But what of those with the childlike portrait?

The sudden death of king in a foreign land leaves his kingdom with the problem returning the royal corpse. If that king died in a losing battle in enemy territory, there arises the problem of procuring said royal corpse from the possession of the enemy, usually with a large price being placed on that corpse. In order to pay the ransom a large quantity of precious metal would be needed and per the preceding quote, it would be desirable to pay in coin, and the sudden crudeness of the portraits of many of these coins dated 33 bear out a sudden need for quick production of these coins.

As for the two portrait types, Ariarathes V left a young son, also named Ariarathes, as yet lacking an appropriate epithet. The practical thing at this traumatic time would be to rush coins into circulation bearing the new king's image. Emphasis would be placed on the obverses, where the king's portrait showed the world proof of the new king's existence, continued use of the prior king's reverses used with the new King's obverses would be of minor concern.

In my opinion, the youthful portrait is that of Ariarathes VI Epiphanos the *Revealed*, as his was revealed to his people that dark year of his father's tragic death in a foreign land.

Newell, Edward T., *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*.

Whitman Publishing Company, Racine, WI. 1937. pp. 51- 55.

“The Kings of Cappadocia”.

Simonetta, Bono Typos II: *The Coins of the Cappadocian Kings Vol. II*.

Typos Monographien zur antiken Numismatik. Fribourg, Switzerland

Orophernes

By C.P Cavafy –*trans. Daniel Mendelsohn*

He, who on the four-drachma piece
seems to have a smile on his face,
on his beautiful, refined face,
he is Orophernes, son of Ariarathes.

A child, they chased him out of Cappadocia,
from the great ancestral palace,
and sent him away to grow up
in Ionia, to be forgotten among foreigners.

Ah, the exquisite nights of Ionia
when fearlessly, and completely as a Greek,
he came to know pleasure utterly.
In his heart, an Asiatic still:
but in his manners and in his speech a Greek,
bedecked with turquoise, yet Greek attired,
his body scented with perfume of jasmine;
and of Ionia's beautiful young men
the most beautiful was he, the most ideal.

Later on, when the Syrians came
to Cappadocia, and had made him king,
he threw himself completely into his reign,
that he might enjoy some novel pleasure each new day,
that he might horde the gold and silver, avaricious,
that over all of this he might exult, and gloat
to see the heaped-up riches glittering.
As for cares of state, administration—
he didn't know what was going on around him.

The Cappadocians quickly threw him out.
And so to Syria he fled, to the palace of
Demetrius, to entertain himself and loll about.

Still, one day some unaccustomed thoughts
broke in on his total idleness:
he remembered that through his mother, Antiochis,
and through that ancient lady, Stratonice,
he too descended from the Syrian crown,
he too was very nearly a Seleucid.
For a while he emerged from his lechery and drink,
and ineptly, in a kind of daze,
cast around for something he might plot,
something he might do, something to plan,
and failed miserably and came to nothing.

His death must have been recorded somewhere and then lost.
Or maybe history passed it by,
and very rightly didn't deign
to notice such a trivial thing.

He, who on the four-drachma piece
left the charm of his lovely youth,
a glimmer of his poetic beauty,
a sensitive memento of an Ionian boy,
he is Orophernes, son of Ariarthes.